

Message Text

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ACTION ACDA-10

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AMEMBASSY BONN

AMEMBASSY LONDON

USNMR SHAPE

USCINCEUR

S E C R E T SECTION 1 OF 2 MBFR VIENNA 0395

MBFR NEGOTIATIONS

FROM US REP MBFR

E.O. 11652: GDS

TAGS: PARM NATO

SUBJECT: MBFR NEGOTIATIONS: AHG DISCUSSION OF NOV 7 WESTERN
PLENARY STATEMENT

1. BEGIN SUMMARY: AT ITS NOVEMBER 6 MEETING, AFTER LONG
DISCUSSION THE AD HOC GROUP (AHG) APPROVED A STATEMENT ON PHASING
FOR DELIVERY BY THE UK REP (ROSE AT THE NOV 7
PLENARY. THE STATEMENT CONTAINS ON THE FIRST PAGE
A PARAGRAPH, SET OUT (IN PARA. 11) BELOW, WHICH CRITICIZES THE
EASTERN INITIAL REDUCTION PROPOSAL. IN THE DISCUSSION,
FRG, BELGIAN, NETHERLANDS, CANADIAN, GREEK AND
ITALIAN REPS SUPPORTED THE US POSITION CALLING FOR
A DETAILED CRITIQUE OF THE EASTERN PROPOSAL IN THE
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NOV 7 PLENARY STATEMENT. HOWEVER, READING FROM

INSTRUCTIONS, THE ISOLATED UK REP MADE CLEAR THAT, FOR "TACTICAL REASONS", LONDON COULD NOT AGREE TO DETAILED CRITIQUE OF EASTERN PROPOSAL AS EARLY AS NOV 7 PLENARY STATEMENT, BUT WAS PREPARED TO DEVELOP SUCH A COMPREHENSIVE STATEMENT FOR THE NOV 14 PLENARY. GROUP ACCEPTED THIS SCENARIO AFTER LENGTHY DISCUSSION. OTHER ASPECTS OF NOV 6 AHG MEETING ARE BEING REPORTED BY SEPTTEL. END SUMMARY.

2. DURING ITS MEETING ON NOV 6, THE AD HOC GROUP DISCUSSED THE WESTERN PLENARY STATEMENT FOR NOV 7. THE CHAIRMAN OF THE WORKING GROUP (ITALIAN DEPREP TALIANI) EXPLAINED THAT, IN ACCORDANCE WITH AHG INSTRUCTIONS THE DRAFT TEXT ON PHASING INCLUDED A DETAILED ALLIED RESPONSE CRITICIZING THE EASTERN INITIAL REDUCTIONS PROPOSAL, ALONG THE LINES OF TALKING POINTS APPROVED BY AHG AND USED BY WESTERN REPS AT THE LAST THREE INFORMAL MEETINGS. TALIANI ALSO NOTED THE SHORTER ONE-PARAGRAPH ALTERNATIVE CRITIQUE WHICH THE FRG HAD PROPOSED AS A SUBSTITUTE FOR THE DETAILED CRITIQUE, IN ORDER TO TAKE ACCOUNT OF NEW UK INSTRUCTIONS.

3. UK REP (ROSE), READING FROM INSTRUCTIONS, EXPLAINED THAT HIS AUTHORITIES WOULD NOT AUTHORIZE HIM TO GO ALONG WITH THE AHG CONSENSUS TO MAKE A DEFINITIVE RESPONSE NOW. HE THOUGHT THE SUBMISSION OF A FORMAL EASTERN PROPOSAL WAS AN IMPORTANT EVENT WHICH SHOULD BE GIVEN THE WEIGHT IT IS DUE, AND THAT IT WOULD BE UNWISE TO BE TOO DISMISSIVE ABOUT SOMETHING TO WHICH THE SOVIETS CLEARLY ATTACH IMPORTANCE, SINCE IT COULD INVITE THE EAST TO DISMISS SUMMARILY ANY FUTURE ALLIED INITIATIVE. FOR THESE REASONS, HIS AUTHORITIES CONSIDERED IT "UNDESIRABLE AND UNNECESSARY" TO GIVE A FORMAL RESPONSE TO THE EASTERN PROPOSAL AS EARLY AS NOV 7. ROSE PREFERRED THAT THE NOV 7 PLENARY STATEMENT BE CONFINED TO THE WESTERN APPROACH ON PHASING, THE TOPIC SELECTED BEFORE THE FORMAL TABLING OF THE EASTERN PROPOSAL BY KHLESTOV AT THE OCT 31 PLENARY. HOWEVER, ROSE CONTINUED THAT IN ORDER TO MEET THE AHG WISH TO

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MAKE SOME MENTION OF THE EASTERN PROPOSAL, HE COULD ACCEPT THE BRACKETED ONE PARAGRAPH COMPROMISE APPROACH SUGGESTED BY THE FRG DELEGATION. IN RESPONSE TO A QUESTION BY ITALIAN REP (CAGIATI), ROSE SAID HE THOUGHT A ONE TO TWO-WEEK DELAY IN RESPONDING TO THE EASTERN PROPOSAL WOULD BE ACCEPTABLE.

4. BELGIAN REP (ADRIAENSSEN) SAID HE SYMPATHIZED WITH

THE UK REP'S POSITION BUT, NOTING EASTERN COMPLAINTS AT NOV 5 INFORMAL REGARDING CAVALIER WESTERN TREATMENT OF INITIAL REDUCTION PROPOSAL, THOUGHT THAT IGNORING THE EASTERN PROPOSAL NOVEMBER 7 MIGHT BE INTERPRETED AS MORE OF A SLAP AT ITS SERIOUS NATURE THAN WOULD A DIRECT REFUTATION. ADRIAENSSEN ALSO NOTED THAT THERE WERE NOT MANY PLENARY SESSIONS LEFT IN THIS ROUND, AND THAT WAITING UNTIL NOV 21 - THE NEXT REGULAR TIME FOR A WESTERN STATEMENT - COULD BE INTERPRETED AS STALLING OR A SIGN OF WESTERN INTEREST IN EASTERN PROPOSAL. ADRIAENSSEN THEREFORE SUPPORTED MAKING A FULL RESPONSE NOW.

5. US REP ARGUED THAT THE ALLIES NEEDED TO RESPOND FULLY AND PROMPTLY, AT THE NOV 7 PLENARY, TO THE EASTERN PROPOSAL. WHEN THE EAST PUT DOWN ITS INITIAL REDUCTION STEP PROPOSAL IN THE INFORMAL SESSION ON OCTOBER 15, IT WAS NOT A FAVORABLE DEVELOPMENT THAT IT DID SO. THEY TOOK A PROPOSAL WHICH WEST HAD TOLD THEM IN DETAIL OVER THE PAST SEVERAL MONTHS WAS NOT POSITIVE AND GAVE IT FORMAL SHAPE, THUS MAKING THEIR POSITION MORE RIGID, BOTH ON THE QUESTION OF WHOSE FORCES SHOULD BE REDUCED FROM THE OUTSET AND ON OTHER OBJECTIONABLE FEATURES OF THEIR INITIAL STEP PROPOSAL. THE ASSESSMENT THAT THE EASTERN POSITION IS ONLY A DELAYING POSITION WITHOUT IMPORTANT NEW SUBSTANCE IS REINFORCED BY THE FACT THAT BREZHNEV DID NOT MENTION THE INITIAL REDUCTION STEP PROPOSAL IN HIS DISCUSSIONS WITH SECRETARY KISSINGER, OR, AS FAR AS KNOWN, IN THE SOVIET DISCUSSIONS WITH CHANCELLOR SCHMIDT AND HIS DELEGATION.

6. US REP SAID WESTERN TACTIC FROM THE OUTSET HAD BEEN TO TRY TO BRING THE EAST TO DROP THIS PROPOSAL WHILE
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PRESERVING FOR FURTHER USE ITS POSITIVE FEATURES. IN THREE SUCCESSIVE INFORMAL SESSIONS ON OCTOBER 22, 29, AND NOVEMBER 5, FOLLOWING THE TABLING OF THE PROPOSAL ON OCTOBER 15, ALLIED REPRESENTATIVES PUT FORWARD THE CONSIDERED VIEWS OF THE AD HOC GROUP ON THE DEFECTS OF THE EASTERN PROPOSAL. THE EAST DID NOT DRAW THE DISTINCTION WEST DOES BETWEEN INFORMAL SESSIONS AND PLENARY MEETINGS. STRULAK SAID IN THE NOVEMBER 5 PLENARY MEETING THAT THE EAST HAD TABLED THE INITIAL REDUCTION STEP PROPOSAL ON OCTOBER 15 AND "REPEATED" IT IN PLENARY SESSION ON OCTOBER 31. CONSEQUENTLY, THERE IS EVERY REASON TO BELIEVE THAT THE EAST HAS TAKEN THE VIEWS OF ALLIED OFFICIALS ON THE INITIAL REDUCTIONS STEP PROPOSAL PUT FORWARD IN INFORMAL SESSIONS AS THE OFFICIAL VIEWS OF THE ALLIES.

7. US REP SAID THAT IF THE ALLIES NOW PULL BACK FROM THE
SUBSTANCE OF THESE VIEWS, THE EAST WILL HAVE REASON
TO THINK THE WESTERN POSITION HAS CHANGED. IT WILL BE
ENCOURAGED TO PERSIST WITH ITS PROPOSAL, RATHER THAN TO
DROP IT.

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ACTION ACDA-10

INFO OCT-01 EUR-12 ISO-00 SSO-00 NSCE-00 INRE-00 USIE-00

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TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 601

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INFO USMISSION NATO

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S E C R E T SECTION 2 OF 2 MBFR VIENNA 0395

MBFR NEGOTIATIONS

FROM US REP MBFR

GIVEN EASTERN PRESS LEAKS, THE WESTERN PRESS WILL ASK
AFTER THE NOVEMBER 7 PLENARY -- IT IS ALREADY ASKING ABOUT
THIS -- WHETHER THE WEST HAS RESPONDED TO THE NEW EASTERN
PROPOSAL, AND WILL READ SOMETHING INTO IT IF THIS IS NOT
THE CASE. THE EAST WILL ALSO BE EXPECTING A WESTERN RE-
SPONSE IN THE NOVEMBER 7 PLENARY BASED ON THE FACT THAT
THE PROPOSAL WAS PUT FORWARD IN UNCHANGED FORM ON OCTOBER
31 AFTER BEING INTRODUCED IN THE INFORMAL SESSION ON

OCTOBER 15 AND THE WEST HAS BEEN COMMENTING ON IT FOR NEARLY FOUR WEEKS. THE EAST WILL CONSEQUENTLY BE SURPRISED IF THERE IS NO TREATMENT OF THIS SUBJECT AND WILL IMMEDIATELY NOTICE IT IF THE ALLIED TREATMENT OF IT IN PLENARY VARIES FROM WHAT ALLIED REPRESENTATIVES HAVE SAID IN INFORMALS. THE CONCLUSION WAS THAT, IN THIS

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PLENARY STATEMENT, ALLIES SHOULD SAY AT LEAST WHAT WE HAVE SAID IN THE INFORMALS HERETOFORE. US REP THEREFORE THOUGHT IT WAS CRITICAL THAT ANYTHING ALLIES SAY IN PLENARY IS COMPLETELY CONSISTENT WITH WHAT ALLIES HAVE SAID IN THE INFORMALS. SAYING NOTHING WOULD NOT BE CONSISTENT; NEITHER WOULD THE FRG COMPROMISE PARAGRAPH. IT WAS PREFERABLE TO REPEAT THE AGREED AHG INFORMAL TALKING POINTS. HOWEVER, US REP SUGGESTED THAT IF THE UK REP COULD NOT ACCEPT THIS PREFERRED COURSE, ANOTHER LESS DESIRABLE COURSE WOULD BE TO STRENGTHEN THE FRG COMPROMISE LANGUAGE TO STATE FLATLY THAT THE EASTERN PROPOSAL CONTAINS NOTHING SUBSTANTIVELY NEW. US REP CONCLUDED BY NOTING THAT THE AHG HAS A SPECIAL RESPONSIBILITY FOR DEVISING TACTICS AND FOR JUDGING LIKELY EASTERN REACTIONS TO SUCH TACTICS.

8. NETHERLANDS REP (DE VOS) AGREED ON THE NEED TO GIVE A CLEAR REPLY AT THE NOV 7 PLENARY WHICH WOULD BE CONSISTENT WITH THE ALLIED POSITION IN INFORMALS. DE VOS ALSO AGREED WITH BELGIAN REP THAT THE EAST MIGHT TAKE GREATER OFFENSE IF ALLIES DO NOT RESPOND TO INITIAL REDUCTIONS PROPOSAL AT FIRST OPPORTUNITY IN PLENARY.

9. ITALIAN REP (CAGIATI) SUGGESTED AS A COMPROMISE THAT ALLIES MIGHT MAKE NO PLENARY STATEMENT ON NOV 7 AND GIVE A FULL RESPONSE INSTEAD ON NOV 14, A DATE WHICH APPEARED TO BE ACCEPTABLE TO THE UK REP. AFTER DISCUSSION OF THIS SUGGESTION, THE GROUP DECIDED THAT GIVING NO STATEMENT ON NOV 7 WOULD INDICATE DISAGREEMENT AMONG THE ALLIES AND WOULD THEREFORE BE INADVISABLE.

10 FRG REP (BEHREND) SAID HE AGREED WITH US REP THAT A COMPREHENSIVE CRITIQUE OF THE EASTERN PROPOSAL SHOULD BE MADE AT THE NOV 7 PLENARY. EAST WOULD MISUNDERSTAND IF FIRST STEP PROPOSAL WAS LEFT UNMENTIONED OR WAS NOTED ONLY IN PASSING. FRG HAD OFFERED SOME BRIEF COMPROMISE LANGUAGE AT NOV 5 WORKING GROUP MEETING IN EFFORT TO TAKE INTO ACCOUNT UK VIEWS. THIS WAS NOT BECAUSE FRG SHARED THOSE BRITISH VIEWS. BUT AHG DISCUSSION DEMONSTRATED THAT GROUP STILL PREFERS A LONGER CRITIQUE ALBEIT SOMEWHAT

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CUT DOWN FROM ORIGINAL VERSION. BEHREND'S ADDED THAT THE PRESS ALSO EXPECTS A STATEMENT NOV 7. COMMENT: FRG DELOFFS INFORM US THAT GERMAN "COMPROMISE" LANGUAGE INTRODUCED AT NOV 5 WORKING GROUP MEETING WAS FRG RESPONSE TO UK DEMARCHE WITH DISARMAMENT COMMISSIONER ROTH IN BONN. FRG DEPREP (HOFMANN) TOLD US THAT UK EMBASSY BONN INFORMED ROTH THAT BRITISH DECISION TO AVOID DETAILED CRITIQUE OF FIRST STEP PROPOSAL IN NOV 7 PLENARY WAS TAKEN AT MINISTERIAL LEVEL. END COMMENT.

11. TO BEHREND'S QUESTION, UK REP CONFIRMED THAT HE COULD NOT ACCEPT A FULL RESPONSE FOR NOV 7, BUT THOUGHT IT WOULD BE ACCEPTABLE TO GIVE DETAILED CRITIQUE ON NOV 14. ROSE ALSO INFORMED THE GROUP THAT HE HAD JUST RECEIVED NEW INSTRUCTIONS WHICH ALLOWED HIM TO MODIFY THE FRG PARAGRAPH SOMEWHAT TO MAKE IT LESS QUALIFIED AND MORE CONSISTENT WITH THE ALLIED POSITION IN INFORMAL SESSION. ROSE SAID HE WAS ALSO UNDER INSTRUCTIONS TO STATE THAT WHILE HIS AUTHORITIES AGREE THAT THE AHG IS PERFECTLY COMPETENT TO MAKE NORMAL TACTICAL DECISIONS, HE MUST POINT OUT THAT ALL ALLIED REPS ON THE AHG HAVE TWO ROLES -- TO BE AHG NEGOTIATORS AND TO REPRESENT THEIR GOVERNMENTS. IF HIS AUTHORITIES FEEL THAT A TACTICAL DECISION MADE IN THE AHG HAS MAJOR POLITICAL IMPLICATIONS REQUIRING GOVERNMENTAL DECISION, THEY MUST PRESERVE THE RIGHT TO GIVE INSTRUCTIONS.

12. CANADIAN REP (GRANDE) OBSERVED THAT THE COHESION OF THE AHG WAS OF PARAMOUNT IMPORTANCE AND THAT ALL AHG REPS AGREED ON THE TWO ROLES -- ALLIED AND NATIONAL -- DESCRIBED BY ROSE. AS A COMPROMISE, GRANDE SUGGESTED USING A SLIGHTLY IMPROVED VERSION OF THE FRG ONE-PARAGRAPH CRITIQUE OF THE EASTERN PROPOSAL IN THE NOV 7 PLENARY STATEMENT, AND TO GIVE A COMPREHENSIVE CRITIQUE ON NOV 14. AFTER FURTHER DISCUSSION, THE GROUP AGREED UNANIMOUSLY TO THIS APPROACH.

13. AS FINALLY APPROVED BY THE AHG, THE PERTINENT PARAGRAPH OF THE NOV 7 STATEMENT READS:
QUOTE WE FEEL OBLIGED TO POINT

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OUT THAT, ALTHOUGH THIS PROPOSAL CONTAINS SOME POSITIVE ASPECTS, IT IS NOT SUBSTANTIALLY NEW.

IT DOES NOT TAKE INTO ACCOUNT THE BASIC CONCERNS WHICH WE HAVE EXPRESSED, IN PARTICULAR THE NEED TO DIMINISH THE GROUND FORCE DISPARITIES IN A FIRST PHASE, TO BUILD CONFIDENCE THROUGH FIRST PHASE REDUCTIONS LIMITED TO US AND SOVIET GROUND FORCES, AND TO ESTABLISH OVERALL LEVELS FOR GROUND FORCE MANPOWER IN THE FORM OF A COMMON CEILING. END QUOTE. THE UK REP ATTEMPTED TO INCLUDE A STATEMENT THAT THE ALLIES "MAY WISH TO REVERT TO THIS SUBJECT LATER." HE WAS OVERRULED BY THE GROUP, SINCE THIS LANGUAGE COULD INDICATE THAT THE ALLIES MIGHT RECONSIDER THIS POSITION, OR THAT THE ALLIES MIGHT BE WILLING TO CARRY ON AN INDEFINITE DISCUSSION OF THE EASTERN PROPOSAL.

14. GROUP AGREED TO DEVELOP DETAILED RESPONSE TO EASTERN PROPOSAL FOR NOV 14 PLENARY. THAT STATEMENT, WHICH WILL BE DELIVERED BY BELGIAN REP (ADRIAENSSEN), WILL BE BASED ON TALKING POINTS USED AT LAST THREE INFORMALS, AND WILL ALSO TAKE ACCOUNT OF EASTERN STATEMENTS IN NOV 5/22 INFORMALS. RESOR

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